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(From the Cornhill Magazine.)  
[CONCLUDED.]

Not a hundred miles from Portsmouth I had already found myself walking about fields in which were employed labourers who could not very readily have been distinguished from ordinary workmen, except that there was an unaccustomed youthfulness in the general range of their ages. They appeared to me to be working well, and the bailiff of the large farm to which they were attached spoke of them as giving up to the average. In doing so I could see that he was putting a check upon himself to what he called "moderate." This farm is what is called a "Parthurst," a farm where a great deal is done on what are called the Parthurst principles. So much so, indeed, that the district reformatories have, to a great extent, abstracted from the population of Parthurst, and the juvenile ward particularly has been all but suppressed and merged in other wards. From

I must, for the present, pass over the female department of Convict Prisons in the most brief and rapid manner, although the subject is full of interest. Millbank is the first depot for all convict prisoners who reach the metropolis female as well as male. Here I find in command as matron Mrs. Gibson who

ment of his gratuity, and a memorandum directing him to obtain the certificate of a magistrate, or of a parish clergyman, in order that he may draw the balance of his gratuity, sometimes paid in two instalments, according to the total amount, at the expiry of two, three, or four months. A record is kept of the date at which the prisoner is discharged, with the immediate result of his efforts to obtain employment. The chaplains of the prisons are very active, the clerical machinery being obviously available for following the prisoner a short way on his resumed journey in the open world. Many a man writes to his reverend adviser.

I have already several times mentioned the Prisoners' Aid Society, which has become a sort of volunteer auxiliary branch of the Convict Department. It is regularly recognised by the officials, who now habitually record whether or not the prisoners accept the aid proffered to them by the Society. The Society began its operations in June, 1887. Amongst its leading men are Lord Carlisle, Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Adderley, Mr. Samuel Gurnsey, Sir Harry Verney, and other practical philanthropists. The total number of cases stated in the last

Individualisation is admitted by the conviction authorities, including the very highest in England, to exercise a most important influence for good. It is a guiding principle in the Irish system, from the admission of a prisoner to the expiry of his ticket-of-leave. Partially attempted in the earliest and much shorter stage, the English system exhibits no attempt to pursue the rule in the public works prisons.

The only opinion I feel at present warranted in expressing is, that the whole subject—the arbitrary limitation of certain attained successives to Ireland, the arrest of a like progress in England, and the unexplained restrictions put upon Mr. Childers's Committee of the Commons on Australian transportation, and its final abandonment—appear to me to challenge a far more authoritative investigation and review than any which could be given to it by a private inquirer, however painstaking, and however handsomely assisted, as I have been, by every man concerned, from the humblest warder to Sir Joshua Jebb himself. For the question involved is nothing more nor less than this—Do we not already know the means of diminishing the positive amount of misery through criminal depravity in this land, and of proportionately contracting its sources for the future?

**CORRECT SPEAKING.**—If the golden age of youth be the proper season for the acquisition of language, be passed in its education, the unfortunate victim of neglected education is very probably doomed with almost no chance for life; for the longer he lives the more difficult will be the acquisition of good language will be. Money is not necessary to get this education. Every man has it in his power. He has merely to use the language which he reads, instead of the language which he heard; to form his taste from the best speakers and poets of the country; to treasure up choice phrases in his memory, and to set himself to their use, availing at the same time that he has the best and bestest writers to show rather the weakness of a vain ambition than the polish of an educated mind.







quested to act as such committee: Messrs. Torpy, Henderson, Forsythe, Pollock, W. A. Cummings, Dr. Clarke, and E. A. Baker, jun.

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The Chairman then informed the meeting that on Monday subscription lists would be issued with the secretary and treasurer's signatures attached, and that he had no doubt but what a sufficient amount would be collected in a day or two to procure the best legal defence in the colony.

Mr. THOMY : I have again to address a few words to you : I have just had a letter placed in my hands, written by one whose stern and manly face you must often remember when addressing you, and whose absence to day we all deplore and express our sorrow for. (Great clearing for Spicer.) With that good English heart he possesses he cannot refrain from telling you his thoughts — with your permission I will

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**THE SYDNEY GOVERNORSES AND SERVANTS' HOME.**  
*To the Editor of the Herald.*  
SIR,—No person who has had any knowledge of the usefulness of this institution, and of the success which has attended it hitherto, can regard the appeal now being made without regret. Considering the classes of persons to be benefited by it, surely it might have been expected that many among the leading portion of our community would have rendered such support as they were able to give. But the fact is, that so little interest has been generally manifested in the working out of its designs. It is an institution which is calculated to benefit employees of servants, as well as those who avail themselves of the "Home" when out

The "Home" was established in 1837, and the number of persons who have availed themselves of it from October 1st, 1848, to June 30th, 1861, have been 1,000. The number of inmates, 768; members, 587. Difficulties have it unquestionably and frequently encountered in sustaining it. But there have been a few who have steadfastly sought to carry it on, and whose exertions it must have failed. Those who have been expelled from the institution, therefore have often proved the usefulness of the institution; the rules being such as to necessitate a thorough investigation into a servant's past character, before such a person could be admitted to be engaged by an employer. Thus, any subscriber could, upon going to the "Home," be sure of procuring a servant of strictly moral and upright character, and thereby have in his family a person who would be less taking into their families servants who might afterwards prove to be undesirable.

But the institution embraces another sphere of usefulness, and that is, the education of the poor. Any person who wishes to avail themselves of its comforts. And although the number of this class who have entered it has not been large, it has been sufficient to show its utility. It has been the case that a young woman, a young man arriving in this city, homeless, friendless, knowing no one and unaware whom to trust or with whom she could safely associate; yet having had a knowledge of the "Home," she would find a ready admittance into this institution; would it not prove a home to her? To such "a friend in need is a friend indeed."

to Sydney Home is not restricted so, nor does it belong to any denomination alone. The only basis for obtaining admission being that of good moral character. It is a public institution, and as such ought to be regarded; as such the deepest interest ought to be taken in its prosperity. To those who are peculiarly interested in the matter, the strongest inducements: and to those who look upon it as a means of doing good to their fellow creatures, and of preserving many from temptations to crime and dissipation, it is an institution which has strong claims for support. It is sincerely to be hoped that the matter will be taken up in earnest: that those who are at present ignorant of the advantages to be derived from the Home will enquire upon their own behalf, and that the Legislature will manifest itself in a hearty response to the requests of those disinterested persons who have given of their time, their trouble, and their money towards the maintenance of this most desirable and praiseworthy institution.

August, 20th.

HYDE PARK.  
*To the Editor of the Herald.*

SIR,—Some Yankies boast of having private snake preserves. Sydney, in turn, can boast of possessing public mud-walks. Tortons of every geological stratum are to be seen in the mud of the town. Paths have been applied to the paths on Hyde Park, including soft slate, sandstone, gravel, clay *ad infinitum*, and so on, from the core. Every walk is a local geological study in its way. The mud of the town affords advantages, under able management, to the walks of the gardens was applied to the park, but its evidently great utility appears to have been offensive to the Improvement Committee. The mud has proved an aid to which people adapted to absorb rain and to adhere to boots. The walks are unnecessarily wide, and the mud is so sticky that it is difficult to retain sufficient water to keep them in a puddle. The mud has been and is now wasted in the employment of labourers in trying to coax the grass to grow in places where it is impossible to grow it. In one pathing and digging, one day here and another in one place, there, in sloping a bank and then squaring it,—in laying down one walk and in footroting up another, would have paid the cost of paving the walks over the length and breadth of the park.

Great taste and judgment have, however, been ex-

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# THE PRACTICAL OPERATION OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION AT THE PRESENT EXTREME CRISIS.

(From the Economist, June 1.)

THE civil war between what were once the United States of America has excited an interest not merely in England, but also throughout the civilised world, which has not been approached since the close of the great struggle of the revolted colonies with their mother country. The sudden outbreak of latent hatreds, the astounding rapidity of important events, were sure to excite earnest and attentive observation.

But sufficient attention has not been paid to the peculiar working of the American Constitution at the critical instant of the whole federal history. Every student of that remarkable document has been impressed with its extreme elaboration. Its primitive principle is the simple one of pure democracy, but in its details there is a singular accumulation of structural refinement and artificial combination. It has always been doubted whether the union of such a violent principle to such delicate machinery would be fitted for the exciting scenes and shifting requirements of a great crisis. The crisis has come, and what has been the result?

We fear it must be said that the result has been an unfavourable one. We do not speak now of the ultimate ending of the present struggle. We are never anxious to be prophets; we know too well the difficulty and complexity even in affairs reputed simple, and we certainly will not prophesy the issue of unprecedented and unexpected events. We are simply analysing the past. We only say that at the crisis of American history the peculiarities of the American Constitution have not corresponded to the hopes and wishes of its wise and well-meaning framers, but have for the most part been purely pernicious.

The decisive test of real excellence in a political Constitution at a great crisis is its tendency to place in power the statesmen of the country best fitted to meet it, and its further tendency to give them every possible help and attainable aid in the arduous enterprise of meeting it. Has the American Constitution done this? It would be hardly too much to say that it has done the very contrary; that it has placed in power the very men least fitted to cope with the present emergency; and that it has encumbered them with great accessory difficulties while they were coping with it.

At the very outset of the quarrel the Constitution occasioned a needless danger. The South threatened to secede because Mr. Lincoln had been elected President. Under almost any free Constitution, the Executive authority whose function it was to oppose secession would have been placed exclusively in the hands of those who were desirous so to oppose it. At an instant of violent irritation the dissentient minority were anxious to break loose from the control of the majority. The majority were at that time, whatever may be the case now, by no means fanatical or irritated or overbearing. They wished to preserve the Union, and under a well-framed Constitution they would have had the power of using the force of the State to preserve the State. But not so under the American Constitution as practically worked. An artificial arrangement prolongs the reign of each President many months after the election of his successor. In consequence the Executive authority was, during a considerable and critical interval, in the hands of those who by birth, habit, and sympathy were leagued with the dissentient minority. Mr. Buchanan and his Ministers had always been attached to the party of the South, and were the last persons to act decisively against it. It is the opinion of many well-informed persons that there was a sufficient Unionist party in several of the seceding States to have prevented the present movement there if the Federal Government had acted with vigour and celerity. And, whether this be so or not, it remains a singular defect in the working of the American Constitution that it gave power to the decisive moment to those least likely to use that power well—that just when a revolt was impending, it placed the whole Executive influence and the whole military force in the unfettered hands of the political associates of the rebels.

Nor does the accession of Mr. Lincoln place the Executive power precisely where we should wish to see it. At a crisis such as America has never before seen, and as it is not, perhaps, probable she will see again, the Executive authority should be in the hands of one of the most tried, trusted, and experienced statesmen of the nation. Mr. Lincoln is a nearly unknown man—who has been but little heard of—who has had little experience—who may have nerve and judgment, or may not have them—whose character, both moral and intellectual, is an unknown quantity—who must, from his previous life and defective education, be wanting in the liberal acquirements and mental training which are principal elements of an enlarged statesmanship. Nor is it true to say that the American people are to blame for this—that they chose Mr. Lincoln, and must endure the pernicious results. The Constitution is as much to blame as the people, probably even more so. The framers were wisely and warmly attached to the principles of liberty, and, like all such persons, were extremely anxious to guard against momentary gusts of popular opinion. They were especially desirous that the President to whom they were entrusting vast power should be the representative not of a small section of the community, but of a really predominant part of it. Accordingly, they not only established a system of double election, in the hope that the "electoral college" (of which the electors were chosen in certain proportions by each State) would exercise real discretion in the choice of President, and be some check on popular ignorance and low violence, but they likewise provided that an absolute majority of that "electoral college" (a majority, that is, greater than one-half of the whole) should give their votes for the elected candidate. In any other event the election was to be void, and the right of choice lapsed in a peculiar and complicated way. The effect has been painfully different from the design. In reality, the "electoral college" exercises no choice: every member of it is selected by the primitive constituency, because he will vote for a certain Presidential candidate (for Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Douglas, and so on), and he does nothing but vote accordingly. The provision requiring the consent of an absolute majority has had a still worse effect; it has not been futile, for it has been pernicious. It has made it very difficult to secure a majority. A nation divided to split into many sections, and each section has its leader; each section has some one whom it would desire more than any one else to see at the head of the State when the great prize of that high place is put up for immediate competition. Still more, every section has its peculiar enmities and jealousies; every man of the least mark is sure to say something or to do something which will offend some large class; if he has had a long public life, probably he will have alienated many. In consequence it is

only by a long previous deliberation and consultation that any Presidential election can be secured. If every one stood up who pleased, and every one voted for whom he pleased, there would be no election at all. In practice each party selects at a preliminary caucus the most unexceptionable member whom they can find; they place various names in a complicated and successive "ballot," and it is not until some of them gains a commanding majority that the party candidate is selected. Naturally this very unexceptionable person is one of the most obscure members of the whole party—a very commonplace, ordinary person. He is almost always one of the lowest, the least known members of the party; and out of the party candidates so nominated the President is chosen. If the wit of man had devised a system specially adapted to bring to the head of affairs an incompetent man at a pressing crisis, it could not have devised one more fit; it would not probably have devised one so fit.

And when Mr. Lincoln was elected, the practical working of the American Constitution prevented him from giving due attention to the arduous difficulties of the terrible position in which he was placed—the most terrible position in which an inexperienced politician ever has been placed—and compelled him to occupy himself with petty details of patronage, which in ordinary times would have been tedious, and which under a good Constitution would have been unnecessary. The effect of the periodical election of the President has been to make everything turn upon that election. Everything is regarded with a view to that: great questions, public duties, political efficiency, are secondary to that. The whole patronage of the country is turned into one great bribe. After each election at which a new party is victorious, every political office, large and small, changes hands: the President who comes in turns out all the friends of his predecessor, and brings in all the friends he has secured by previous hopes and previous promises. The labour of this change of offices is immense. Mr. Lincoln is described by eye-witnesses as having been overwhelmed and bowed down by the million minute difficulties which such a system inevitably causes, by the detestable necessity of deciding on the respective fitness of five thousand men for five hundred postmaster's places, by the mass accumulation of low detail with which he was burdened just when the very existence of the State was tottering.

Even now the Constitution of the United States is producing great evil. A President, especially a new and untried, and comparatively untried politician like Mr. Lincoln, ought to be able to call to his aid a popular assembly, animated by all the feelings which a great crisis calls forth in a great people, and containing all the wisdom which the whole nation can collect to meet that crisis. Mr. Lincoln has no such power. He can, it is true, convene an extraordinary session of the existing Congress; but that Congress was elected years since, when no such crisis as the present was ever thought of, when any one who dreamed of it would have been considered to be mad, when other hopes, other fears, and other thoughts absorbed the public mind. Such a Congress would be worse than useless as a counsellor, and might even be very dangerous as a restraint or as an opponent. Mr. Lincoln is doubtless right in naming a distant day for its session. But what a commentary it is on the working of a political Constitution, that it compels an inferior, unknown, untried, and tired man to decide upon the national difficulties without aid and without control.

The moral is a plain one. The Constitution of the United States was framed upon a vicious principle. The framers were anxious to resist the force of democracy—to control its fury and restrain its outbursts. They either could not or did not take the one effectual means of so doing; they did not place the substantial power in the hands of men of education and of property. They hoped to control the democracy by paper checks and constitutional devices. The history we have sketched evinces the result; it shows that these checks have produced unanticipated, incalculable, and fatal evil, but have not attained the beneficial end for which they were selected. They may have ruined the Union, but they have not controlled the democracy.

## M. LESSEPS AND THE SUEZ CANAL.

(From the Times, June 24.)

WE are in a position to answer Mr. Griffith's question, to which a reply was promised the other night in the House by Lord John Russell, but was not forthcoming. It is perfectly true that "accounts have been received" by ourselves, if not by the Foreign Office, "that M. Lesseps has induced the Viceroy of Egypt to employ large numbers of natives by forced labour in the construction of the Suez Canal." No one at all acquainted with the history of the great public works of Egypt failed to see that it must come to this at last. Our correspondent speaks of men brought up in gangs from their villages, and made over to the agents of the company; and this is the very reason why, when their crops are ripening, and the task of uniting the Red Sea to the Mediterranean was so uncongenial to them that "a number of men contrived to escape from the train, but were in a few days recaptured and sent back to their taskmasters." Whether this system of impressment can be carried on long enough, or relentlessly enough, to keep down the accumulations of sand in Lake Menzaleh, and to defeat the inveterate tendency of the Isthmus of Suez to widen itself, remains to be proved. What is certain is that the scheme is being pushed unscrupulously and puffed unblushingly, and that the tactics followed at the outset, and against which we have so often warned our readers, are now being actively practised. The results actually achieved may be learnt from M. Lesseps' own report, "sur l'état actuel des travaux dans l'Isthme." They consist in the erection of a wooden jetty and tramways at Port Said, as well as of workshops and dwelling-houses for the workmen, in the introduction of dredging machines and other apparatus, in the construction of a small aqueduct, and a system of earthenware pipes for the supply of fresh water. As for the more substantial works alluded to in the report as on the point of being executed, it is only by an ingenious confusion of the past and future tenses that they could be made to serve M. Lesseps' purpose. One-sixth of the total estimated expense of the undertaking has already been laid out, before any one of the physical obstacles has been encountered that led Robert Stephenson to pronounce the scheme not absolutely impracticable (as he has been indisputedly), but ruinous as an investment.

There is one point upon which Mr. Griffith touches that has been the subject of much misrepresentation. We have been taken to task pretty roundly for discouraging a scheme of universal beneficence on grounds of self-interest, and it was tacitly assumed at the late meeting at Paris that what terrifies us is the probable success of the undertaking. There cannot be a greater mistake. It is possible that some, actuated by

the same narrow-minded policy which has made exclusive influence in the Levant a pet idea in the French mind, may suppose that England owes her hold on the East to the difficulty of transit from Alexandria to Suez. How so illogical a notion could enter into one's head we cannot explain, but from the tone adopted in some of the discussions on Egypt in the early part of this century we learn that it was once entertained on both sides of the Channel. It was, perhaps, natural that when the Mediterranean was opened to traffic by a French lake, and Bonaparte avowed his intention of making Egypt a province of France and a basis of operations against our Indian Empire, a corresponding spirit should be developed in this country, and the duty of forestalling the designs of France and demanding guarantees for our right of way to the East should be urged somewhat boldly. These vague ideas have here passed away with the dangers out of which they arose, and the Overland Route, secured to us by treaties, and much less valuable to us for military purposes than for those of peaceful communication, is our only privilege in Egypt. If a canal were opened, it would be closed by convention, if not by nature, against ships of war of all nations, and nothing but a system of differential tolls, or some other violation of Egyptian neutrality in favour of France, could prevent our reaping the chief advantage of it. It is not, therefore, the success of the enterprise that we have to dread. If this were all, we should be well content to leave it as an engineer's question, and, reserving our opinion, to accept the decision of the majority. At all events, we should be careful to conceal an opinion so likely to kindle the jealousy of our rivals, and Lord Palmerston would have been the last man to commit the indiscretion attributed to him by Mr. Griffith.

What, then, is the real peril apprehended by English statesmen and studiously kept in the background by the corps of *diplomates et ingénieurs* of which M. Lesseps is the head? It is simply that under cover of this canal, whether it be destined to succeed or to fail, France may be tempted to aggrandise herself in Egypt at the expense of the Pasha's purse and the Sultan's sovereignty, and to the detriment of those great European interests involved in keeping the "Gates of the East" in the hands of a permanently neutral Power. We do not wish the Egyptian Government to be put under such obligations to an ambitious ally that it cannot extricate itself without making improper concessions to its creditor. We do not wish Egypt to be treated by France as the Jews were by the Christian Princes of the Middle Ages, till it is so impoverished by the process that the company which already holds a large tract of land, or some more powerful body claiming to represent it, may assume the attitude of a mortgagee in possession. We do not wish a dependency of the Porte to become the focus of French intrigue and the tool of French dictation. These and like dangers, be it observed, are attached, not to the completion of the enterprise, but to its commencement and prosecution; they are not future, but present.

The attitude of England in this matter is analogous to that of a Parliamentary Opposition. The project has been undertaken contrary to the advice of our engineers and in almost ostentatious hostility to our interests, and the position of antagonism to it into which we are thrown is strengthened and justified by the artifices that have been used to bolster up its financial unsoundness. Everything that has hitherto transpired confirms the objections which have been urged from the first. These objections were founded on the enormous expense of construction, the almost insuperable difficulty of forming and keeping open the harbours at the two outlets, the disadvantage of competing with vessels of a comparatively small draught against ocean steamers, especially considering the dangers of Red Sea navigation, the exorbitant transit dues that could be kept such as a canal in repair, and the impossibility of obtaining any adequate securities for its maintenance in its present political condition of the East. M. Lesseps cannot charm away these ugly facts by vilifying ourselves, while he ignores the question of expense altogether.

Even if our objections to the scheme were as selfish as it is the policy of M. Lesseps to describe them, it is absurd to trace the *liaison* of France with Egypt to anything that has happened in the present century. A plan for the occupation of Egypt was offered to the French Government by Leibnitz, and the First Napoleon prophesied that it must sooner or later belong to France. Ever since he suited the action to the word by organising the Egyptian expedition, with its contingent of *arabes*, to survey and report on the course of Necho's Canal, French enthusiasts have never lost sight of Egypt as a field for ambition; it looks so inviting, and would figure so well in the map between Algeria and Syria, over whose populations the Marquis de La Roche-Aymon lately informed us that France had exercised a "direct protectorate" from the age of St. Louis. We know what the temptation is, for we resisted it after the expulsion of the French, as we resisted the Emperor Nicholas's overtures to Sir Hamilton Seymour, and we suspect there are some schemers at Paris who think us fools for our pains. These gentlemen belong to a party that has scarcely cared to conceal its ultimate aim. To detach Egypt from the Porte by treating her as an independent power, to patronise her civilisation, and to establish a permanent right of interference in her concerns, was the policy of this party even under Louis Philippe, and when France was compelled to repudiate her engagements with Mehmet Ali in 1840 M. Thiers' words were,—"Our influence in Europe is lost for ever." Far be it from us to insinuate that any such designs are consciously present to the minds of the promoters of the Suez Canal, and that any rectification of the French frontier is contemplated in that direction. We merely indicate the reasons that oblige us to watch the proceedings of this company with some anxiety.

## MR. COBDEN ON THE COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH FRANCE.

On the 6th of June, conformably with a resolution passed on the 22nd of March, 1860, the freedom of the City of London was presented to Mr. Cobden, at a Court of Common Council, held in the Council Chamber of Guildhall, and presided over by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, in recognition of adopting the language of the resolution—"for his long and eminent services in liberating commerce from the shackles which prevented the development of the industrial enterprise of this country, and also for his voluntary and patriotic exertions in negotiating the recent treaty with France."

After the presentation had been made by Mr. Scott, the City Chamberlain, Mr. Cobden, who was greeted with deafening cheers, stood forward to reply. He said:—"My Lord and gentlemen, I should be wanting in modesty if I were to appropriate to myself

all the merit which has been so lavishly bestowed upon me in connexion with the great question of free trade, upon which we have heard so elaborate and eloquent a eulogium. I have been a humble worker in that cause with many others, and I must attribute it to accident, and not to any exclusive merit, that I have been frequently made the representative of the great principle to which I allude. And I will say, in relation to the particular occasion which has brought me here to receive this honour from your illustrious corporation, I should be trespassing beyond the bounds of truth and modesty if I were to say that either I or this country have had much merit in the case of the late commercial treaty with France. For ourselves, we had already nearly finished the task of shaking the fetters from our industry. For thirty-five years we had received at the hands of successive statesmen—and I may mention particularly those already referred to, Mr. Huskisson, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Gladstone—almost a complete measure of commercial reform, so far as regards the question of the protection of the consumer. There was very little remaining to do, and the items in our tariff requiring actually to be reformed might almost be said to have remained there on account of their insignificance. (Hear, hear.) But it was a very different question on the other side of the Channel. France had hardly taken the first step in the path of commercial reform. Although she had been for nearly a century the teacher of nations in the great truths of political economy; notwithstanding that in the old time Turgot and Say had demonstrated the truth of these principles; notwithstanding the labours of a noble band of political economists in our day, in the front rank of which I must place the late lamented Frederic Bastiat and my much esteemed friend Michel Chevalier (cheers); notwithstanding their efforts France remained the most prohibitive country of any great nation in the world. It was reserved for the present Emperor to make those changes which had overtasked the power of any of his predecessors. (Hear, hear.) He has been aided by the most enlightened members of his Government and most ably seconded by his Minister of Commerce, to whose enlightened and courageous abilities I am glad of this opportunity of offering the tribute of my sincere admiration. (Hear, hear.) But it is to the Emperor personally that is due the initiative of this great reform embodied in the treaty. (Cheers.) Now, it is remarkable that two countries more favourably situated and circumstanced than any other two countries in the world should have remained so long separated and estranged from each other, and deprived of the advantages which the mutual interchange of commodities would have given them; for it is a fact that there are no two great nations so near together that have not equalled the power of any of their predecessors. (Hear, hear.) He has been aided by the most enlightened members of his Government and most ably seconded by his Minister of Commerce, to whose enlightened and courageous abilities I am glad of this opportunity of offering the tribute of my sincere admiration. (Hear, hear.) But it is to the Emperor personally that is due the initiative of this great reform embodied in the treaty. (Cheers.)

There is something wanting on the part of both Governments to the peoples of both countries that that state of things should exist at the moment when the people are invited to enter into preparations by the investment of capital, by the employment of labour, by the forming of connections, all of which must imply some confidence in the future. I say, and I say it advisedly, that there is something wanting on the part of both Governments, simultaneously with such a state of things to exhibit themselves in the face of the world, in an attitude of constantly increasing menace and defiance by their warlike preparations. (Cheers.) I know the stereotyped answer we have heard to this—that if you would preserve peace, prepare for war. That is an old maxim, but experience has not proved to us its wisdom in practice. I have acted upon a different maxim. I say if you would preserve peace, prepare for peace. The old Latin motto, *Sic vis pacem, para bellum*, might have been applicable to the state of things in the old Roman Empire, when that Power acknowledged no equal and tolerated no rival. In those days that maxim meant if you would prevent rebellion you must prepare to suppress it. It is a very different thing in our days, with two nations like France and England, each maintaining perfect equality with the other, having the same glorious traditions and histories, and neither claiming from the other either subservience or obedience. I say that for two nations like these to be constantly arming is the readiest means to provoke war, and the danger is that which the late Lord Aberdeen once expressed—that nations which have made great preparations for war are very apt to be disposed to test their efficacy. (Hear, hear.) I am not going to enlarge upon this subject, but I say emphatically and advisedly that this commercial treaty must be practically incomplete—so long as the Governments of these two great countries maintain their present attitude of hostility, or at least of defiance, towards each other. (Hear.)

I speak of their naval preparations solely, because we are come to that point now that there is no other country which is making any great naval preparations besides France and England. But they are avowedly preparing a hostile, or, at least, a system of defence against each other; and I say that it is the duty of both Governments to endeavour to take such steps as may allay the uneasiness and anxiety which must prevail in the minds of merchants, manufacturers, commercial men, and men of business, in both countries, so long as this hostile attitude exists—an attitude so opposed to such a state of views, and preparations which are necessary in order to realize the full benefits of this treaty. (Cheers.) I will only add, in reference to a remark which has been made, that I am here to-day to bear testimony not only to the complete good faith with which the French Government carried out every detail of this treaty, but to their anxiety that there should be no possible misapprehension or misunderstanding with regard to the practical arrangements for carrying out this treaty in a satisfactory manner. (Cheers.) And this brings me, in conclusion, in expressing my gratitude to this Court for the great honour they have done me on this occasion, to refer to the circumstances, and the time under which the vote of the freedom of my corporation was accorded to me. That which, I confess, gives it in my eyes its signal merit is the consideration that at the time when I was engaged in arranging the details of the treaty, and before those details could be published, I was, as you know, assailed. (Hear, hear.) I do not complain of that; I, as a public man, have had too much of it in my time to induce me now to complain. (A laugh.) But I was assailed at a moment and under circumstances when it was not in my power to reply—(hear, hear)—when it would have been indelicate and improper in me to have replied—when I knew that the circumstances of the case, when they came to be developed six months later, would justify me and refute my calumniators. But, in the meantime, while I was powerless, the danger was, and the only danger I felt during the proceedings, that the manufacturing community would be so discouraged by these misrepresentations that they would fail to come to Paris to help me with their knowledge of the details of their business, which alone enabled me to accomplish my work. It was at that moment that this hon. Court, without having any knowledge of the facts—knowing only the vague terms of the original, which might have meant something or nothing, according as the details were worked out—and when I was far away from home and powerless myself, threw

their shield of approbation over me. (Cheers.) It is for this that I now present myself before you, and from the very depth of my heart I thank you sincerely for the honour you have done me. (Loud cheers.)

PROPOSED ABOLITION OF MASTERS IN THE ROYAL NAVY.

(From the United Service Gazette, June 1.)

THERE is but one cure for the crying evil which afflicts the class of master and assistant masters in the Naval Service generally. The Admiralty have increased the pay of Masters, and have granted them the retiring rank of Captain—have given Commanders' master's duties to Master Commandants and Assistant Masters' duties to Masters, and in Council of the 10th April last, obtained for the increased Army rank, but accompanied by a strict injunction against their ever using their rank, although belonging to the Military branch, so long as a Lieutenant or Acting-Lieutenant is present. They have given additional rank to second Masters and Masters' Assistants; but have somehow almost stopped short at a point which has had the effect of negating all that went before. The last creature has, in particular, stirred up the bile anew, instead of producing a healthy action; for although it has raised their relative rank, it has done so inconspicuously with that of other classes.

We believe that the feeling is now pretty general in the Navy, although it may not extend to the regions of Whitehall, that the reason of the present drawback to the efficiency of the service, as well as of the continual source of jealousy and complaint, it stands that it was a very kind of service reform, and may one day lead to their meeting in consequence. "But," say some of the old school admirals and captains, "masters are indispensable; no ship is safe without a master." The late Sir Charles Napier declared that he would never have his ship under a weigh from Spithead, unless he had had a master on board. The moderns think differently. Captains in the present day require an officer in the position of a navigating officer, who is not a master, but a man of special qualifications of a master as to the duties of that officer cannot be performed by any one else in the ship.

It will be as well to examine into the training of the young officers of the master's class, in order to understand, if possible, the mysterious process by which a master's assistant becomes more competent to take navigation of a ship than a midshipman. A young gentleman is sent to sea as a midshipman, and the navy passes at the age of fifteen the same examination as a cadet. He is, while young, put to do similar duty, but prior and subsequent to the attainment of the rank of second master, he is put to do the duties of the holds, tiers, and storerooms. He is very rarely allowed to keep watch, and may never be called upon to put a ship about until he obtains promotion to the rank of master, although it is at any time liable to be called upon to take the master's place on the quarter-deck. If he enters the navy from the merchant service, he is set to work upon any drudgery he may have to be performed below. His early training has accustomed him to deck duty; and he has had to make himself useful aloft. To be drawn from a life of incessant bustle and made a prisoner upon the lower-deck, to take charge of the parties in the holds, tiers, and storerooms, is to him an irksome change; but if he remains in the Navy, he must do as he is ordered; and he does so very often at the expense of his character, and with the loss of the opportunities of perfecting his seamanship qualifications.

Before becoming a confirmed Master he must pass an examination at the Trinity House for the pilotage of the Channel. He is then sent to one or two passages from the Land's-end to the Downs—perhaps not. Latterly the Admiralty have appointed young masters' assistants to the training brig at Portsmouth and Plymouth; but as the one never goes to the eastward of St. Helen's or westward of Cowes, and the other seldom outside the Eddystone, the practical acquaintance with the Channel gained by the younger is comprised in the fact of having occasionally felt a qualmish or sea-sick. But when the time to pass arrives, he sets to work upon Admiralty charts and Biddiscombe's Channel Pilot, and industriously crams himself with the details of the coast, and, just as the candidate for the Civil Service crams history and geography, in the hope of weathering those astute individuals, the Civil Service Commissioners. The certificate gained, the charts are rolled up, and the books laid by for three or four years, until he has to pass for a line-of-battle ship. Yet the officers of these ships, this peculiar fashion, as much as possible in the uniform of a point of seamanship and navigation, is supposed by the Service to be a more competent navigation and seamanship officer, than the most industrious painstaking Lieutenant. He is appointed as the captain's principal nautical assistant and adviser, although he may never have had charge of a watch, and never have piloted anything larger than a launch. As years roll on, his responsibility increases, and he must become, after a time, that which he is supposed to be at first; and so great is the confidence sometimes reposed in an experienced master, that captain and lieutenant may be equally competent to command and carelessness, and give themselves no trouble about the safe conduct of the ship, scarcely checking his reckoning. Thus the master at first endures the ship by his inactivity, and afterwards is relieved from other officers a weighty responsibility which all ought to share.

Abolish the class. The navy is not dependent upon the merchant service for practical seamanship; and the necessity for masters is not so great as it is. Masters let there be "staff lieutenants," with rates of pay commensurate, and let the skilful performance of the duty be a claim for promotion. Some hundreds of young officers, who are now only sent to sea to look for support, are now coming on in the navy, who would be only too glad to qualify for pilotage, and to undertake the navigating duties if it was their interest to do so. Their present position is a disgrace to the navy, and they know that to be a master is to be marked for the shafts of disappointment and disgust; but if on the other hand the position of the navigating officer were such as to ensure his every responsibility, and his advancement, it would be a prize worth competing for. The navy would soon have a corps of officers unsurpassed in scientific and practical knowledge; that which the merchant service could not give, and which the masters let there be "staff lieutenants," with rates of pay commensurate, and let the skilful performance of the duty be a claim for promotion. Some hundreds of young officers, who are now only sent to sea to look for support, are now coming on in the navy, who would be only too glad to qualify for pilotage, and to undertake the navigating duties if it was their interest to do so. Their present position is a disgrace to the navy, and they know that to be a master is to be marked for the shafts of disappointment and disgust; but if on the other hand the position of the navigating officer were such as to ensure his every responsibility, and his advancement, it would be a prize worth competing for. 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